2: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

O iaooé ! seooké ! 634
O iaooé ! goóa máte é. 764
O iaooé ! goóa te ófa é. 533
O iaooé ! goóa te tángi é. 533
O iaooé ! mówmów é. 539

Alas ! woe is me !
Alas ! he is dead !
Alas ! how I respect him !
Alas ! how I lament his loss !
Alas ! here are his ruins !

These verses were repeated over and over again, without any order, during the whole night; the mourners frequently beating their breasts and faces, and now and then making exclamations regarding themselves, as to what would become of them now they had lost their great chief and protector, and with him all their happiness and comfort. The house was lighted up by lamps with cocoa-nut oil. About one hundred and fifty persons were present, among whom were Finow and Mr. Mariner; both of whom staid the whole night. Finow's wives retired to rest. Mr. Mariner deeply felt on his mind the depressing influence of these sorrowful lamentations. The poor unfortunate women at intervals only sobbed and mourned for a time, then broke out loudly as before; till by degrees, the voice growing weak, sunk into a hoarse murmur; as if all the powers of the soul were fast declining under a weight of

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

were particularly fragile. No artifacts of any kind were found with the burials, although a dark discoloration of the sand immediately surrounding each burial may have been caused partially by the decay of perishable materials placed with the dead.

There can be no doubt that the surface of the mound was covered with a layer of kitchen refuse, thus confirming the statement that the mound was at one time the site of a god-house, the dwelling house of a priest. Cooking was never undertaken in Tonga within the house, but the mound was sufficiently large to accommodate both house and cooking place. The condition of the ovens indicates that they were not used at a very recent date.

It is equally evident that the body of the mound constituted a burial place. All facts point toward a rather primitive interment. The condition of the skeletal material was comparatively good, in spite of a wet climate conducive to rapid decay. The position of the burials above the level of the surrounding land, and the sandy material surrounding the bones, combine to establish ideal drainage conditions and to favor long preservation. There were no signs of intermingling of the kitchen refuse with the clean sand body of the mound. A sharp line of demarkation extends between the two elements throughout the excavated area. The fact that the burials preceded the deposit of the surface stratum is emphasized by the occurrence of an earth oven directly over two of the skeletons.

If the traditional account is to be credited, the surface deposit of the mound had been completed previous to the middle of the nineteenth century, but nothing positive can be said concerning the age of the bottom of the kitchen deposit. Such deposits may accumulate rapidly in Tonga, owing not only to the great number of marine shellfish eaten by the natives, but more especially to the fact that the coral oven-stones had to be replaced after two or three bakings. On the other hand, examination of a kitchen midden on this same island (p. 102) produced evidence that a very thin deposit of such refuse could represent an appreciable passage of time.

The question arises as to the length of time elapsing between the last burial and the erection of the god-house. In consideration of the great respect shown by the Tongans towards the dead, it is hard to believe that even a god-house would have been built upon a known burial site. This consideration suggests that the house was not built until the inhabitants ceased to remember the mound as a place of burial and, therefore, the interments appear to have been at least prehistoric. According to Sullivan (21), the bones are Polynesian in type. The pottery found in this mound is discussed on pages 115-116.

EUA SITES

The island of Eua, ten miles southeast of Tongatabu, is 30 miles in circumference and more than 1000 feet in maximum height. On the northwest

7: McKern A-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

172 [354] volcanic oven-stones are present. A volcanic stone will serve in an oven for an indefinite period of time. It therefore marks a deposit where the accumulation of materials may have been slow. It logically follows that the close intervals between the many pieces of pottery is due to a very gradual deposit of the material which contained them. The very fragmentary condition of the pottery, and the large number of these pieces that would be required to reconstruct one pot, must also be taken into consideration. It might be argued that a very few pots could have supplied all the material taken from the excavation. Such a contention, however, entirely disregards the stratification data, and is completely controverted by the variety of rim shapes which the specimens show (fig. 49).

The increased quantity of pottery near the center of the deposit would seem to reflect the time of maximum population of the site, although it might be interpreted to indicate the time of maximum use of pottery, regardless of population.

The head of the Seventh Day Adventists Mission was certain that the surface of this mound has been plowed frequently within the last generation. This accounts for the lack of stratification in the top 0.7 foot of the deposit, and renders the mixed occurence there of pottery, ash, clean sand, marine shells, and human bones void of importance. There is doubt as to whether any potsherds rightfully belong on the surface. The skeletal material certainly represents shallow burials, or surface burials covered with transported sand. Surface burials seem likely, unless the mound was a great deal higher at one time than it is now. Whatever the mode of burial, the association of the skeletal material with pottery does not establish any cultural relationship.

172 764

According to Tui Vakano, the human bones mark the remains of burials made at this site after the first battle between George I of Tonga and the rebels of Pea, probably disposing of the dead from the loyal army. The burials were therefore historic in period.

172 121 3. On the shore of the lagoon immediately northwest of Johanson's store at Mua. It was particularly desirable to find some deposit of human refuse worthy of excavation at Mua, the ancient residence of the old dynasty of Tongan kings, as this was the center of native culture for many generations preceding European discovery of the archipelago. The deposit found, although not a highly promising one, is rich in ash and charcoal, and horizontally stratified.

172 [121] The site of the kitchen midden is a low, vertical exposure. In excavating, a strip was removed lengthwise with the embankment, 7 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet deep. Only the top 0.7 foot produced kitchen refuse materials, including 12 small potsherds. The remainder of the exposed column of earth consisted of soil which was representative of adjoining natural formations and which rested upon characteristic,

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

342 sorry resistance to strong winds or heavy rains.
[824] On the other hand, there is capital ventilation; and
[354] perhaps that is of greater importance in such a hot climate, than even freedom from the more occasional annoyances attendant upon stormy weather. To compensate for the lowness of the walls, the roof of a Tonguese house is carried to a considerable height. The rafters are closely set, and are
[824] generally made of the outer wood of the cocoa-nut tree, or of the bread-fruit tree, the latter of which has much the appearance of cedar wood, and has a very pleasing and beautiful effect when nicely finished. The large beams, to which the rafters are
[335] attached, are laid along the grooved tops of high and durable posts, which reach about half way up the entire height of roof. The inner ridge pole is
[353] usually ornamented by a profusion of sinnet wrappings of varied colours and geometrically interlaced. The roof itself is covered with a thick thatch,
[824] made from the leaves of the sugar-cane or of the bamboo, and is perfectly water-tight. A well-built house will last a good many years; but the thatching requires to be renewed, under the most favourable circumstances, about once in five years. The
[352] floor is laid with a profusion of dried leaves, which
[824] are in turn covered over with numbers of mats made from the cocoa-nut leaf, upon which again the finer sitting and sleeping mats are placed. No provision is made in the interior of either native or European house for cooking conveniences. A
[354] separate building contains the kitchen requisites, and the heat of the climate renders a fire-place in the dwelling house unnecessary. What is wanting in the architectural beauty of these houses is amply remedied by the loveliness of the natural bowers,

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

132 European constitution. In the height of the hot season, the humidity also becomes proportionably increased. One seems to live in a vapour bath all the day long. It must, however, be stated, as a set-off against this, that the resident, in any of the Tonga islands, has no need to dread the miasma of marshes, [164] or deadly swamps. Violent or fatal fevers are scarcely known. We are convinced that with ordinary care, and by having better habitations, the Missionaries, and other foreigners, would avoid a great many of the evils which at present result from the excessive humidity.

342 The houses, of the class possessed at present, are not sufficiently impervious to the outward 354 atmosphere; while the system of ventilation is not such as to contribute to the comfort and health of the inmates. It will be enough to say, in proof of this, that there are no means of ventilation in any part of the high thatch roof of a Tonguese house. Hence, to secure the ventilation absolutely necessary for ordinary health, the walls themselves have to be made of open reeding or wattle-work. All the air, therefore, that is admitted, enters and departs below the eaves, that is to say, through the walls up to a height of seven or eight feet. Through these walls the damp, and cold rains and dews, easily strike into the interior, rusting everything in the shape of cutlery, and necessitating also a regular exposure of wearing apparel to the sun, to free it from the damp and mould, consequent upon even a few days' neglect. 342 Such houses cannot be healthy; and although the 797 Missionaries have been content to occupy them, on the score of economy, it is an economy liable to very grave objection and doubt. Nothing that

[463 cont.]

175 admirable similarity of follies, the modes of the former inhabitants
302 of Europe are in full force among the modern antipodes; and our
171 insipid beaux, whose only pride is the invention of a new fashion,
are forced to share that slender honour with the uncivilized natives
of an isle in the South Seas.

175 My father did not return from his excursion till the evening,
having proceeded a considerable way towards the south end of the island.
At noon a smart shower had obliged him to retire into a plantation
175 and to take shelter in a house. Fortunately for him the owner of this
609 cottage was at home, and immediately invited him to sit down on the
352 clean mats which covered the floor, whilst he went to provide some
175 refreshments. In a few moments he brought several coco-nuts, and
609 having opened his oven under ground, took out some bananas and fishes,
252 wrapped in leaves, which were perfectly well done and delicious to
354 the taste. The manner of cooking provisions is therefore exactly
175 the same as at Taheitee; nor are the natives less inclinable to acts
609 of hospitality and benevolence, though these virtues were not so [464]
171 frequently exercised towards us, because we commonly found the
252 country quite deserted, the inhabitants being drawn together towards
our trading-place. The hospitable man was rewarded with nails and
175 beads, with which he performed the fagafetai, by laying them on his
431 head, and accompanied my father back to the beach, carefully carrying
439 a number of spears and clubs for him, which he had purchased on the
201 road.

175 The harmless disposition of these good people could not secure
648 them against those misfortunes, which are too often attendant upon
[171] all voyages of discovery.[A] Our goods tempted them at least as much

[A] [6 October—Analyst.]

/85 cont./

763 [343] [565] a relief for his family, since one may not smoke, for example, in a house where there is a dead person, and children may not enter such a house. In most cases, however, at least among commoners, death takes place in the family dwelling. The dying one insofar as his condition will permit, speaks to his family who are assembled at his bedside. Until the end, they try, with medicines, to keep life from 764 going out. When he has expired, his wife washes his body with water and European soap. A deceased wife is washed by her daughter. The [784] [593] child-father taboo is thus observed even in death. The deceased is then dressed by his wife in a new white shirt and a white textile vala (a deceased woman by her daughter in correspondingly good women's clothes). The body is covered from feet to chin with a white or light blue satin sheet and over this (or around the body) are laid three (or more) of the finest mats (kie Tonga or fine Samoa mats) which cover the corpse completely from the neck down (feta'u=death clothes).

In the center of the house the corpse is then laid on mats (for example, fala paongo, fala tofua) which are covered with tapa (ngatu tahina). Often, perfume of eau de cologne is fetched from a shop and is sprinkled on the deceased; his hair is rubbed with Tongan oil (lolo Tonga) and is combed. The face of the corpse is covered with [784] a hankerchief. The person who ministers to the dead man (or woman) is thereafter subject to no taboo (for instance, food taboo).

The relatives of the deceased and of the surviving spouse arrive. They kiss the deceased in Tongan fashion ('uma)[A] and take a seat in the house. The widow sits near the head of the deceased around whom the sons, the daughters and the rest of the kinfolk gather. They pray, [354] [179] [565] weep and give themselves up to their grief. Gasoline /86/ lamps (some ten) lent by the villagers are placed around the corpse; they are a substitute for the traditional lamps or torches, (242)

242. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society, p. 200.

[A] [i.e., the nose kiss. See footnote 218 on p. 109--Analyst]

/86 cont./

764 [354] [177] [565] [784] [276] [622] [565] and a deceased commoner is now probably given more lamps then was formerly customary and that was permissible, compared with chiefs. It is forbidden to smoke in the house or to drink kava or eat food. The village chief, the matapule and other villagers drink kava and eat in a neighboring house; they talk about the deceased and his good deeds.

If the deceased was a member of the Wesleyan church (like most [794] [533] Tongans), the choir of the village church come and (usually standing in an adjoining room of the death house) sing hymns until daybreak. This is perhaps a substitute for the old individual mourning songs. (243)

243. Compare E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 198.

A few relatives have meanwhile gone into the bush in order to gather sticks (for example, of siale mohe mohe) which they lash with bast from the fau (Hibiscus tiliaceus) to make the traditional latticed bier (fata). A kinsman has arranged with the pastor the time of burial; the date was, for example, proposed by the widow and the rest of the relatives agree. (244)

244. Many burials take place early in the morning; but afternoon is also a preferred time.

The time of burial has arrived. The satin, the handkerchief and the mats are removed from the deceased, the tapa on which he is lying is folded around him and tied with another piece of tapa. The bier is covered with mats (papa and fala paongo) and tapa (ngatu tahina or ngatu'uli). The deceased is laid on this; the satin sheet and handkerchief are again placed over him and everything is shrouded with one (or two) valuable mat(s) and a large piece of tapa (ngatu'uli). [202] Then the church bells are rung and ten or 20 younger relatives (not the sons) carry the bier to the graveyard. (245)

[184] 245. In Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu) where the graveyard is more distant and the technical facilities are more progressive, the corpse is driven to the grave on a truck.

/144 cont./

331 342 house is now already occupied.

[461] This house building took 29 work days. After a forced pause of several weeks to procure further building material from distant Nuku'alofa, the work will soon be finished.

331 342 In this way, European tools (or parts of tools) and material, as well as European building methods have found their way into Tongans to build a house has not been displaced by this specialization. 177 178 In fact, division of labor among the workers in building a house and their compensation seems little changed. This persistence is also evident in the way the Tongans largely retain their ancient building methods.

b) Household Equipment

177 European influences have brought about enrichment and change in the field of household equipment.

352 415 /145/ The ancient Tongan furnishings of a dwelling consisted essentially of seat mats, sleep mats, headrests, baskets of various 354 kinds and sizes (to hold clothing, combs, fish hooks, tools, etc.), bottle gourds, wooden bowls, lamps (burning coconut oil) and the all important and typical multi-footed, large kava bowl. (376)

376. See W. Ellis, An authentic narrative /cited in English/ I. pp. 95, 96, 108; J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. p. p. 285; G. Forster, loc. cit. IV. p. 329; V. pp. 139, 148; Ch. Wilkes, Narrative... /cited in English/ III. pp. 15, 16.

177 As a result of contact with whites the Tongans adopted various European household articles which seemed to them either more useful than corresponding ones of their own, or particularly "representative." In this way, what to the European eye seemed like the "emptiness" of the Tongan house was to some extent filled.

[352] Today, the inside of a dwelling looks somewhat as follows:

/145 cont./

177 the floor (which consists of coconut-leaf mats [takapau] placed over
352 the sand or dried leaves, or of boards [see above]) is more or less covered with seat mats (papa = coarse mats of pandanus leaves, lou paonga) (377)

377. Size approximately 2.60 x 0.75 meters; construction see page 305-307.

upon which the finer floor mats and sleep mats of the lo taha type are
353 sometimes spread. In some houses the roof construction is covered over
352 with tapa. Along the walls stand a few crates, boxes or chests,
177 baskets, also traveling bags and often a small food cupboard (with
415 screening). In front of, or on top of, these containers, in which are kept clothing, utensils and smaller supplies of various kinds, lies the bedding (mats, bast-fiber covers [sheets], pillows) of several
352 house occupants, which is rolled up during the day. On a small table
354 there are often a glass kerosene lamp, a few glass bottles with Tongan
415 oil, a mirror, etc. The bed of the master of the house (married couple)
177 is usually partitioned off with a tapa or cotton curtain (sometimes
352 also with a board wall). (378)
353
177

378. In houses with an ancient Tonga ground plan it /the bed/ is usually located in one of the rounded ends.

Here there are more containers and mat beds or a European-type bed.
353 Many Tongan interiors are decorated with strips of colored crepe
177 paper, photographs, magazine and newspaper pictures.--Such furnishing are today typical for houses with ancient Tongan ground plan, as well as for most of the European-type constructions.

352 A complete Tongan bed consists today of a simple sleep mat of
285 the lo taha type, another placed over it of the fala tofua type and
513 a sleep mat of the fala paongo type spread over this. (379)

(824) 379. The mats are made from leaves of various pandanus species; their size varies from

/147 cont./

352 177 (556) (574) personal wealth, and it often gives him the comforting assurance that he will always be able to receive a white guest properly.

Among the rest of the household effects, the wooden, multi-
415 178 footed kava bowl along with the coconut mugs have a prominent place in most houses, as in the old days (391)

391. On the custom of the kava drink see pp. 143-149.

1422 Almost every household also owns a roll of tapa from which pieces are
412 824 cut off as needed. For sweeping, the natives still use a broom (tau fale) made of the ribs of pinnate coconut leaves, coconut-fiber cord
354 178 and a stick of hibiscus wood. The old Tongan lamps, /148/ in which coconut oil was burned, like the more frequently used torches, have,
177 however, long since disappeared. In every house one sees European kerosene lamps, and the modern benzol pressure lamps are also rather
372 177 widely used. In the villages, matches have altogether replaced the old method of rubbing fire; it is only on the plantations that fire is
178 often produced in the old way, (392)

392. On the long side of a trunk of Hibiscus tiliaceus (tolonga) approximately 80 - 100 centimeters long, which has been flattened with a knife, a pointed rod (kaunatu) of the same wood is rubbed back and forth with both hands, under steady pressure and with mounting speed so that the sawdust that gathers at the bottom of the trough gradually grows hotter and finally starts to smolder; tinder (for example, a dry coconut husk) can thus be ignited. The process usually takes 20 - 25 seconds; 15 seconds were said to be "record time."

415 with which very many Tonga are still familiar. No Tongan uses
177 bottle gourds any more for storing liquids. Glass bottles of various
178 shapes and colors are taken for granted in all Tongan dwellings.
000 Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and